20c MARCH 9, 1953

CONFORMITY VS FREEDOM

New Republic

ADLAI STEVENSON on THE OPPORTUNITIES OF DEFEAT

A. POWELL DAVIES on ATTACKS ON THE FREE MIND

Reviews by

ELIZABETH BOWEN

MALCOLM COWLEY MEYER SCHAPIRO

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Letters

Anti-Intellectualism in the Schools

● Arthur E. Bestor Jr.'s article on anti-intellectualism in our schools (*NR*, Jan. 19) suggests that he is one of those college teachers who is currently criticizing modern curriculum development in the public schools without too much thought about experiences teaching there.

Anyone who has taught history in high school knows that the "intellectualism" Bestor hopes to restore is and was, all too often, a chronological arrangement of devitalized useless material. A good high-school teacher knows, too, that the "problem approach" so severely ridiculed by Bestor is challenging, motivating, and, most important of all, significant to the student and for society. Our democratic society . . . demands daily, from all of us, the capacity to solve problems.

That Bestor and many other excellent minds see something anti-intellectual in modern curriculum development is unfortunate as the content and method of it have been scarcely tried. Whenever it has been, the results seem very good. . . .

Bestor says, in criticizing the Illinois common-learnings program, that educators prescribe but never tell us how to teach students the ability to help solve economic and political problems. In saying this, he just doesn't seem to know the literature in the field of education, for the yearbooks of several educational organizations and societies are replete with concrete examples. When students studying city government organize and actually effectuate a change in city government from an old mayor-council plan to city management as has been done, they are really solving political, economic and social problems. . . .

Of course Bestor can, as he claims, "count on the support of an overwhelming majority of classroom teachers." Naturally, because the teachers are smugly content to sit and parcel out questions about the sinking of the *Maine* while they delude themselves into believing they are adhering to disciplines of history. However, he could not get the support of schoolmen who believe implicitly in the new approaches because the alert teachers want a *more intellectual* approach. The newer approaches demand from the student-research, writing, analyzing, criticizing, evaluating. It is for the student more challenging, dynamic, intellectual.

The great issue in building a better curriculum for our schools is not intellectualism vs. anti-intellectualism. The big problem is still to train and hire intelligent teachers for our schools, so that the implications of Emerson, Dewey and others can be sustained. We still have hope that American youth can lead the way toward a free world civilization. . . .

Wilkes-Barre, Pa. ELLIS W. ROBERTS

● As a supplement to Arthur Bestor's pathetic misinterpretations and deliberate distortions of the aims of public education regarding so-called intellectualism, it might have been wise to have published a key to his semantics.

The issue, claims Professor Bestor, is "whether the school system ought to be educational." Is there a responsible educator who will say "no" to this? What, however, does "educational" mean to the author—and what does it mean to other responsible educators? Surely not the same thing. Nowhere does Professor Bestor tell us what it means to him, other than by implying that it is synonymous with "intellectualism."

"It is the job of the school," quotes the professor from "one of the most influential current statements of educational policy," to meet the common and the specific individual needs of youth. "This," says our professor, "is nonsense." Of course, it is nonsense—and it is even more nonsense for him to expect us to believe that this is the total concept of that quoted statement—that those words were not pulled out of a context more clearly and specifically defining the aims and job of the school. No responsible educator would claim that "the school must undertake to meet every need that some other agency is failing to meet." Of course it's preposterous—and it's a dangerous and outrageous perversion of the humanistic concept that the schools must undertake *in addition* to the teaching of specific subject matter (never, never in lieu of) the teaching of the *application* of this subject matter to the everyday problems of adjustment to a *real* society, which does not exist in a classroom.

"Many vital needs of men cannot be satisfied except through the extensive and rigorous application of intellectual means," says the professor. True enough—but how many more vital needs of man require means other than "rigorous application of intellectualism"?—Or ought we first to define "intellectualism"? Webster says: "It is the doctrine that all knowledge is derived from the intellect." "The intellect," says Webster, "is the faculty of thinking—the faculty of the human mind which comprehends ideas communicated to it by perception and understanding."

Does Professor Bestor mean that the schools no longer teach youngsters to think? Or does he mean that the schools do not stress as most important, the rate memorization of facts? What does he mean by "intellectual training?" Is a child being more "intellectually trained" when required to do a division problem involving nothing more than meaningless numbers, than he is by planning a party for his classmates and having to know how many cups of punch he can get out of three quarts? Is not the latter an example of "intellectual training—plus?"—What about the child's ability to get along well with other people?—what about learning to accept and understand oneself and one's abilities for utilization in areas other than "the intellect," what about learning to evaluate for oneself in order to accept or reject thoughtfully any preponderant opinion?

These are all learnings that are vital to everyday living. They are not geography or history or economics, but neither do any of these subjects exist outside of the application of these other learnings. . . .

If all of this is "undemocratic," does

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

THINK

To keep up with her crowded schedule Mary Lord [who succeeds Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt on the Human Rights Commission] has streamlined her life. She makes decisions swiftly—on her feet. Confronted with a crisis, she will say to the person in front of her: "Think of something". . . . – *Washington* Post.

Cup Brimming Over

No matter what the Democrats think about what the Republicans are going to do once they are in the driver's seat, the president of Dun and Bradstreet, Edwin B. George, thinks that the first half of 1953 is likely to "be quite prosperous" but there is a chance of a business turndown in the fourth quarter.

. . . The economist added there is "hardly any prospect" of business slipping below a level of "full employment" next year. This he described as a state in which the unemployed range between three and four million persons. Currently, we are in a state of over- or hyper-employment, he explained, with the number of unemployed below that level. – *From the* Inland Printer.

Nip That Bud

The North Dakota Senate passed by a wide margin a bill to ban the sale of candy cigarettes on the ground that they might encourage juvenile smoking.

Then the chamber voted in favor of a bill to endorse an already existing measure banning dancing in the dark. – *From a UP dispatch.*

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

LET US begin with praise. Ike was attractive at his press conference last week. He was natural, good-humored, dignified, confident and massive. He answered most questions. He obviously was doing his damndest . . . as Truman did . . . as all Presidents we know anything about did. As an individual Ike is immensely likeable. He said it would be terrifically difficult to balance the budget. And he evaded comment on the McCarthy probe.

For 20 years taxes and the unbalanced budget have been the Republican stock in trade. For 20 years they have said it was simply a matter of waste and corruption, and the planned mismanagement of people like that unspeakable little Truman. Constantly in the campaign Ike referred to the Democrats' "planned" inflation, and he used the phrase in his State of the Union speech. But five weeks in office bring a different verdict. Now it is Ike the President speaking, not Ike the Candidate. His campaign adviser, Sen. Frank Carlson (R, Kans.), tried to whoop it up again afterwards in the Senate declaring the budget still can be balanced this year. A weightier figure thought it over. "No, it can't," rumbled forthright Mr. Taft.

Ike has named ex-Rep. Albert Cole (R, Kans.)—who spent his career fighting public housing—to head the government's housing agency. The leading Congressional opponent of the nation's housing laws, who was too conservative even for Kansas, is picked to administer the laws. How can Cole perform his duties in good faith? Truman sometimes picked unsuitable friends for government jobs, but he would never have picked a man whose unsuitability was of the Cole type.

McCarthy's probe of the Voice of America has these aspects: he has damaged the Voice prestige abroad where Reds now exultantly link the epithet "McCarthy"—hated by Europe's liberals—with everything the Voice says; he has deprived the Voice of the ancient argumentative device of quoting your opponent against himself (Dr. Wilson Compton, retiring head, says he fears the current restriction "cuts the throat of an effective propaganda program"); he has lowered staff morale and encouraged every psychopath to come before television lights and betray his colleagues; he is no longer primarily hunting Communists but is moving directly into the field of policy determination; and finally, he is demanding that the case for American democracy abroad be put in a Voice that rants not argues, is vituperative rather than logical and, above all, that all doubtful and undecided foreign listeners must themselves be treated as vile, contemptible and Communist . . . see where this has got McCarthy himself!

Now the terrifying thing about this is that the sophisticated Dulles has bowed to this primitive and is everywhere giving McCarthy his head. Ike endorsed McCarthy in the election, and Ike's victory gave McCarthy power. McCarthy is now set to get secret loyalty files. The theory of Dulles' co-operation is that the Secretary must restore "confidence" in the State Department by showing that it is Communist-free. In other words, Dulles wants to put together again the eggs which he helped to break. Dulles hopes to prevent foreign policy from again becoming a captive of its critics as he charges it was under Acheson; the difference seems to be that whereas Acheson fought the manacles, Dulles puts them on willingly.

What impresses us most forcibly is not McCarthy weakening the valuable tool of the Voice of America in the global struggle but this acquiescent attitude of Dulles. Dulles fawning on McCarthy is perfidy to democracy itself. It is frightening and it is folly because basi-

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cally it implies that Dulles and Eisenhower do not trust the common sense of the people. It implies that they think the McCarthy element stronger in America than the Abe Lincoln element. It is our deeply considered judgment that this estimate is wrong. We fear that McCarthy—if this goes on—will destroy Eisenhower. This would be lamentable in itself but worse is that, in so doing, he would endanger all of us.

Incidentally, the State Department's overseas information service has bowed to McCarthy and told co-operating publishers to send to libraries abroad no more books by Reds or "persons who might be considered controversial." It offers no list of "controversial" authors. Officials say helplessly that so far they cannot define the term. The American Civil Liberties Union protested the ban.

We think GOP National Committee Chairman Wes Roberts will be fired soon. He got $11,000 (10 percent) for swinging the purchase of an insurance-company building by the Kansas State legislature. The New York *Herald-Tribune* which exposed the Democratic "five percenters" has been quiet about Roberts' 10 percent, but Kansas is seething over it and the lieutenant-governor (a Republican) calls the Roberts' commission "morally reprehensible."

Notes: Poor Secretary Benson made his big decision last week. After minimizing farm-price supports as mere "disaster insurance," he learned the political facts of life quickly and promised to keep butter supports for a year. . . . So the GOP will spend $60 million annually to keep butter prices so high consumers won't buy it. . . . The GOP had lots of fun with the Democrats' rotting potatoes, now they take their turn with rancid butter. . . . Last summer this column said Taft was less conservative on some subjects than Ike: now Taft says he would keep non-proselytizing Commies on university faculties in some instances; Ike says he would fire them all. . . . General Van Fleet returns to tell us how we can win in Korea by a big new offensive.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

Professor Bestor believe that "members of the learned professions" can dispense the only true concepts of democracy—by virture of their "learnedness?"

New York City EMILY RUBIN

● A. E. Bestor's tirade against anti-intellectualism in the schools inevitably raises in the reader's mind the old question of who determines the function of the schools in a democracy. Although the author concedes that the people must do so ultimately, he furnishes them *a priori* with the answer when he says: "No agency but the school can provide the systematic, disciplined intellectual training required. This is, and always has been, the primary, indispensable function of the school." Although an historian, the author offers no historical evidence that it always has been thus, nor does he explain how he discovers that this is now the primary function of the school.

In democratic America, in contrast to aristocratic Europe, the school has long been thought of as one of the instruments for meeting the needs of the majority. With more hospital patients afflicted with mental illness than with all physical illnesses combined, has the school no obligation to assist the children to sound emotional development? With corruption rife in business and politics, has the school no obligation (in addition to what the church can do) to assist our children to reach higher social standards? Or shall we stick strictly to intellectual development and risk the production of intellects of razor sharpness employed mainly to gyp those not so well trained, scorn esthetic refinements, and end as a public charge in a mental hospital?

The schools of Germany had everything that Professor Bestor is asking for. They gave the children a "knowledge of history, geography, and foreign languages" and did it with remarkable thoroughness, or as the author says, "superlative well." They emphasized intellectual attainments so strongly that only some 10 percent of the adolescents were able to finish the secondary school. How successfully did the superlative German schools, devoted to intellectual rigor, prepare the youth to deal with the problems of their age and nation? The German people easily fell victim to a cheap little demagogue who led them to national disaster and world-wide moral disgrace. . . .

Austin, Texas DENTON L. GEYER

● In my article I asserted that "systematic, disciplined intellectual training" is "the primary, indispensable function of the school." These communications call upon me for a definition. By intellectual training, then, I mean developing the ability to think. This involves several things: first, a thorough command of the rudimentary skills of reading (including reading foreign languages), writing (including grammar), and mathematics; second, a store of reliable information which the mind can draw upon (hardly to be acquired without some deliberate cultivation of the memory); third, long-continued practice in the systematic ways of analyzing and solving problems which have been developed in the individual sciences (natural and social), the humanities, and history; and fourth, a conception of how to use these intellectual resources in dealing with the complex situations (not merely personal but national and international) that confront men today.

Much of my criticism boils down to the contention that the public schools today are trying to find a shortcut to the last of these objectives by by-passing the other three. I believe that thinking is concerned with solving problems, and I believe that several different kinds of thinking must be brought into play in the solution of most significant problems. But an intelligent man does not solve a problem by just wallowing in it. He tries to stand far enough back to analyze the problem, and then he tries to apply to it as much accurate knowledge and as many systematic (even abstract) processes of thought as he has been able to master. You can't teach electrical engineering by turning a group of students loose with screwdrivers and pliers to take a dynamo apart. You have to point out that there are prerequisites: mathematics, physics and so forth, which cannot be picked up on the side. Now the "core curriculum" on which Mr. Roberts pins his faith seems to me a fallacious attempt to create a synthesis of knowledge before there is any particular knowledge to synthesize. And Miss Rubin can of course teach short division with cups of punch, but she will never get to algebra or trigonometry or calculus by sticking to that method, for these imply, at the very best, the ability to move from the concrete idea of three cups to the abstract idea of three.

I do not imply, as Mr. Geyer seems to think, an opposition between the intellectual and the emotional, or the intellectual and the moral. Thought plays its part in the realms we label social, esthetic, moral and vocational. Training to think more clearly in these realms is intellectual training as I define it. By anti-intellectualism I mean simply a refusal to take seriously the job of teaching men to think clearly, systematically and imaginatively. To treat this as a part-time, incidental job is not to take it seriously. Miss Rubin asks, "Does Professor Bestor mean that the schools no longer teach youngsters to think?" This is just what I mean.

Urbana, Ill. ARTHUR E. BESTOR JR.

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New Republic

CONFORMITY VERSUS FREEDOM

A MOST distressing aspect of the American way of life, circa 1953, is the subtle corroding of individual liberty under the guise of fighting Communism. The public conscience has become sodden with irrational fears generated by self-appointed purveyors of a servile brand of patriotism. These fears, cloaked in anti-Communist colors, are being directed at those who refuse to conform to accepted patterns of thought and action. With increasing frequency, it is becoming socially, professionally and economically unprofitable to express oneself in unorthodox terms much beyond the physical boundaries of one's own mind. The tragic result is the emergence of a Neo-Fascism that threatens to subject us all to a despotism as evil as any that we dread.

In ever-widening sectors of the national scene this corrosive process can be observed. It is not a phenomenon limited to the destruction of the rights of a few prominent individuals or of any particular segment of the American family. Nor is it characterized by wild forays of shouting citizens bent upon denying free expression of unpopular ideas. There are still many forums where ideas, however unpopular or distasteful, may be freely uttered and exchanged. And the federal criminal code does not yet illegalize the cultivation of friendships without regard to the political orientation of one's companions. But there is an insidious acid that is silently but nonetheless effectively eating away at the very vitals of our free society. And it is doing so in ways that have real and lasting effects upon all citizens, whatever their station in life.

This situation has its roots in the fear of Communism. This fear, like the fear of cancer, is understandable and basically healthy. Communism is a system of government so destructive of freedom and democracy as to merit the uncompromising enmity of all who cherish the traditions of individual liberty. An informed and intelligent fear of that system, when coupled with constructive counter-action consistent with the historic premises of a free culture, is most desirable. But crude fear is an emotion that can easily exceed its legitimate bounds. It lends itself to ready abuse and manipulation by those who would achieve their own selfish, tyrannical purposes. It can soon become diverted into channels far removed from the original object.

So it is with the fear of Communism. The natural public reaction against the intrigue and inhumanity of Communism has been seized upon by vicious, undemocratic and reactionary forces and fanned into flames of prejudice and conformism. An atmosphere of intolerance has thereby been created in which true freedom cannot long endure.

In the name of anti-Communism, the false crusaders for loyalty and patriotism in truth advocate a complete spiritual capitulation to the Communist principle that the individual has not rights worthy of respect.

Within the expanding realm of enforced conformity, liberals, intellectuals and independent thinkers are relentlessly tracked down and tarred with the indelible mark of Communist, Communist-sympathizer or fellow-traveler. Ideas that challenge or dispute traditional thought patterns are viewed suspiciously, and if they chance to coincide with what is or once was the Communist Party line, they are indiscriminately labeled Communistic. The forums in which such views may be expressed without fear of economic or professional reprisal are rapidly diminishing in number and importance. Indeed, intellectualism is itself under grave attack; intellectuals are contemptuously referred to as "egg-heads," "double-domes" and "highbrows." Art and literature, moreover, tend to be judged less by their intrinsic merit and more by the political acceptability of their creators.

Conformity thus comes to be equated with patriotism and anti-Communism. What appear to be efforts to uproot Communists often turn out in fact to be assaults upon the great liberal tradition of America and the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. A suspicious affiliation of many years back, a friendship with an alleged Communist sympathizer or an innocent statement capable of being twisted into radical overtones when torn from context can well cost an individual his economic security and his professional reputation. Small wonder, then, that intellectual freedom is being ground into the ugly gray mass of conformity under the powerful threats of public ostracism and reprisal. It is often better to remain silent, to forego one's right to dissent, than to give voice to thoughts that might bring disaster down about oneself and one's family.

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This assault on freedom takes many forms. It expresses itself in a particularly vicious manner in the loyalty inquisition of federal government employees. This program, more than anything else, symbolizes the anti-intellectualism and anti-liberalism that underlie the loud demands for patriotism. Here the tragic consequences of being a non-conformist are laid bare in stark human terms. Grim orthodoxy and intellectual blindness are held aloft as the symbols of loyalty and good reputation. In short, he who would be truly free and intellectually curious is no longer welcome as a public servant.

But the stain of the anti-freedom acid goes far deeper into the American body politic than the federal civil service. It also manifests itself in the countless programs of loyalty investigations, loyalty oaths and non-Communist affidavits being established by other governmental units, by schools and universities, by corporations and labor unions and by those responsible for the creation of various relationships between government and private citizens. Employment opportunities and union membership are tending to become restricted to those who will humbly swear that they have never belonged to the Communist Party or to any organization termed subversive by some administrative fiat. Ostensibly designed to drive out the Communists, these programs succeed only in harming innocent persons and creating an air of resentment, fear and mistrust.

Still another manifestation is the continuing attack on public schools under the piously fraudulent cry of dispelling Communistic influences. The focal point of this onslaught is the very process which makes young minds free. By use of the anti-Communist blunderbuss, free debates are being shut off, textbooks are being censored, speakers are being banned, curricula are being standardized, independent thought is being smeared and public-school teachers are being intimidated. The child is assumed to be unfit for freedom, for the chance to select what he considers to be the truth. He is deemed to be a robot to be indoctrinated with the safe orthodox mores of politics, economics and sociology. This aspect of the attack on freedom is succeeding. Already a degrading and deadening conformity is settling over our public schools. And those colleges and universities which so far have escaped this leveling process appear to be next on the list of the patriotic hordes.

The concept of conformity is also being applied in the name of anti-Communism to the important media of mass communication and expression of ideas. Movies, radio and television have taken the brunt of the destructive forces. Only those may write, act or otherwise work on the production of programs who are intellectually and politically sterile. The outlawry of the heretics is determined in large part by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and by the authors of *Red Channels*, the infamous blacklist of alleged pro-Communists that has stirred up more fear, suspicion and hate within its range than the Communists themselves could ever evoke. And where the work of a suspicious person does slip through the iron curtain of the employers, the House committee and the authors of *Red Channels*, the American Legion and other self-styled patriotic organizations stand ready to boycott the public viewing.

The consequences of these various pressures toward conformity are as inevitable as they are disturbing. The loss of freedom and dignity suffered by the individuals involved is bad enough. And the economic and professional suffering flowing from the efforts to exercise one's freedom is inexcusable. But the greatest crime is the public's loss of the opportunity to hear and examine the competing claim for truth.

It is that opportunity that is the very essense of a free democratic society. Without it, society tends to conform to the mold set for it by despotic leaders. Freedom then becomes a mirage.

Fortunately, there are stirrings of protest against this destruction of freedom. Despite epithets and slanders thrown at them, free men are beginning to overcome their myopia and observe the ruins left in the wake of the sadistic patriots. Not the least of these favorable signs is the recent action of the Ford Foundation in appropriating $15 million for the newly organized Fund for the Republic. The public statement issued at the time the appropriation was made constitutes a promise for a better understanding of the real state of the union:

> One of the first activities to be undertaken by the fund is a thorough study into the many difficult concepts and problems which are encountered in the field of civil liberties. We see a pressing need for a clear statement in contemporary terms of the legacy of American liberty. We propose to help restore respectability to individual freedom.
>
> The major factor affecting civil liberties today, in our opinion, is the menace of Communism and Communist influence in this country. Coupled with this threat is the grave threat to civil liberties in methods that may be used to meet the threat. We propose to undertake research into the extent and nature of the internal Communist menace and its effect on our community and institutions. We hope to arrive at a realistic understanding of effective procedures for dealing with it.

There is indeed desperate need for such a study. Only out of a true understanding of the problems can there be any hope for restoring individual liberty to the status of dignity which it once enjoyed in the United States.

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THE WEEK

SEQUEL TO THE NIXON FUND

While *Look* magazine was busy selling copies of its February 24 issue devoted to proving that Richard Nixon *is* "fit to be President," the New York *Post* was digging up evidence to infer that he is not.

On February 26, the *Post*, which broke the original Nixon Fund story, came out with another chapter. Reporter Robert G. Spivak charged that Republicans have been trying to cover up "a special fund totalling more than $25,000 —entirely distinct from the $18,000 fund—(that) was banked by (Dana) Smith's account both before and after Nixon's broadcast. Ultimately, according to Smith, about $20,000 of this amount was turned over to the Republican Committee and the United Republican Finance Committee of Los Angeles in an effort to 'clean up' the fund."

Nixon's office refused to comment on the new Fund. Members of the Senate Elections subcommittee, headed by Senator Barrett (R, Wyo.), which is investigating reports that Nixon was subjected to a "smear" campaign, had no comment either.

THE FOX IN CHARGE

Awaiting only certain Senate confirmation, the nation's housing program now will be entrusted to former Rep. Albert Cole (R, Kan.), outspoken foe of public housing and advocate of higher interest rates on government insured and guaranteed home loans. President Eisenhower has named him Housing Administrator. The appointment, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D, Minn.) charged, is "like putting the fox in charge of the chicken coop."

As head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Cole will succeed Raymond Foley as supervisor of the Federal Housing Administration, Public Housing Agency and the Home Loan Bank Board. His appointment is considered a compromise between the demands of private building and the mortgage-banking interests.

Cole's opposition to public housing, a program which he will now administer, was seen many times in House debates. In 1949 he charged that low-rent public housing " . . . is privileged and discriminatory . . . tends to destroy our form of government."

After three terms in the House he was defeated last November by a Democrat, Herman Miller. Traditionally Republican farmers voted against Cole, contending that his support of a dam project played into the hands of big real-estate interests in Kansas City.

VELDE'S PENANCE

In 1947 Robert B. (Bug-Eye) Barker, an underling on the House-Un-American Activities Committee, testified that when David Lilienthal was chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the TVA was riddled with Communists. The charges were submitted in an effort to block Lilienthal's confirmation as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. The Washington *Post* at that time revealed that Barker's only evidence, a mimeographed copy of a letter allegedly written by a Communist TVA employee, was false (Sen. Ed Johnson of Colorado stated that since Barker could not produce the original letter or even a photostat several committee members believe he had "planted" it to discredit Lilienthal). Certain parts of Barker's testimony were so contradictory that the Committee considered pressing perjury charges but did not.

Despite this blot on his record, Barker was not fired. Instead, during the past six years, he has held jobs on the Cox Committee investigating the Federal Communications Commission, the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures and the Un-American Activities Committee. But he was finally dismissed last week when Rep. Harold Velde needed a whipping boy for an "honest mistake" in accusing Mrs. Agnes Meyer of writing a pro-Communist letter to a Russian magazine. Again, Barker was found with the wrong letter written by the wrong person.

AFTER THE CAMPAIGN

Henry Luce's slick *Fortune* magazine, *the* businessman's journal and a stout friend of the Republican Party, has recuperated from the one-party press campaign fever. With the air of a realistic, promising young executive seeing to his insurance, the January issue brusquely states there will be corruption in the Republican administration, "maybe quite a lot."

"Actually," says *Fortune*, "there was surprisingly little corruption under Truman. . . . But a great stench was raised about it during the campaign."

"Furthermore," saith the prophet, "let's face it—the fact that a great many middle echelon bureaucrats of the New Deal-Fair Deal era regarded the businessman as an enemy of the people made them less susceptible to money corruption than some of their replacements probably will be."

THE VOICE OF AMERICA?

While McCarthy stomps around looking for the "key men" Dean Acheson left behind to subvert the State Department, Under-Secretary Walter Bedell Smith scatters a frenzy of orders, counter-orders, reprimands, suspensions and reinstatements in the hope of earning the accolade "co-operative." This, it is rumored, is part of a Dulles "Master Plan." At the right moment "State" will trot out its champions.

In the meantime McCarthy has seized the initiative; he calls the plays. Calls, for example, as witnesses a series of disgruntled employees passed up for promotion or about to be dismissed, then guarantees them their jobs if their testimony has headline value. As a result, the investigation into the Voice of America's efficiency becomes the rallying point for the incompetent. A witness testifies the "Voice" has wasted $31 million; the record shows that as of January 1, 1953, the "Voice" has spent some $27 million. That is the pattern.

The effectiveness of US representa-

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tives abroad is damaged because the Europeans with whom they deal are never quite sure they will not be repudiated. The morale of State Department men at home is undercut by chiefs, whose orders they must obey, too craven to protect the reputation and the stature of the Department from a demagogue. In Switzerland, handling and evaluation of Washington news about Congressional committee investigations are now indistinguishable from that of news about purge trials in Communist countries.

The Voice of America can be improved. Its effectiveness already has forced Russia into employing 1,000 transmitters and 10,000 men in an effort to drown it out (the "Voice" has 80 transmitters and 2,000 men)—yet it can be improved.

But, as Edward W. Barrett, once top psychological-warfare executive in General Eisenhower's AFHQ, Overseas Director of the Office of War Information, editorial director of *Newsweek* magazine, and Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs from 1950 to 1952, has said (in the N. Y. *Herald-Tribune*):

> The constructive course is hardly that of a daily televised procession of hand-picked witnesses consisting almost entirely of disgruntled persons who have been fired, demoted or passed over. . . . It is hardly that of giving nationally publicized hearing to one former employee charging willful waste in locating transmitters while keeping the door closed to an array of well-known engineers waiting to testify to the contrary. . . . I know most of the Voice's flaws. They result chiefly from four causes. (1) Persistent inability to recruit enough first-rate executives and engineers because of fear of being slandered and because of low pay. (Doing at least twice as much broadcasting as NBC, the Voice has less than one-hundredth as many well-paid jobs as NBC.) (2) The enormous complexities and personal frictions that inevitably exist in any organization which broadcasts daily in 46 languages. (3) The governmental regulations and red tape. . . . (4) The fact that Voice officials have always been forced to spend more time combatting irresponsible charges of non-existent faults than they could give to the correction of real faults.

When questioned about such criticism, McCarthy said: "I don't think I—or Eisenhower—need their advice. I don't intend to take it."

ALLAN HAYWOOD—CIO'S GREAT LOSS

They said the new leadership team elected by CIO at Atlantic City last December was a perfectly balanced wheel. It could roll with the youth, spirit and determination of Walter Reuther and Jim Carey while much of its substantive strength, indeed its cog, was Allan S. Haywood.

But the wheel had little chance to turn before the colorful, Yorkshire-born Haywood was laid to rest in the heart of his familiar Southern Illinois coal fields. At 64 he "died with his boots on," as everyone knew he would, addressing a CIO meeting.

In the years since 1936 when the Committee for Industrial Organization was first formed Haywood's entire life was CIO and to thousands of workers his very identity was CIO. His personality, his driving energy, were poured into the organization of almost every mass industry in America: auto, steel, rubber, transport, electrical, wood, paper, telephone.

In 1939 he was named national organization director and three years later a vice-president of CIO. During all this time he was not just a union official—he was primarily a union man. The officer of the smallest local union discussed problems with him as freely as he would with his own shop steward.

Haywood's faith was CIO. He could not minimize the pain he felt last December when he lost to Walter Reuther in his bid to succeed Phil Murray as president of CIO. In recent months some tried to pressure him to work against Reuther, but he angrily shunted these efforts aside. He was an organization man and the organization overshadowed all partisan interests.

Over the years the job was tailored to Haywood. In 1950, in addition to his organization duties, he was appointed director of CIO Industrial Union Councils and a year later was named executive vice-president. Last December he was elected unanimously to the post. In this capacity he was the only full-time officer of CIO, handling a wide variety of gruelling daily jobs essential to the operation of a great union movement.

Today his post remains unfilled. Whoever is selected for it must be high in CIO circles, a top administrator and organizer. And, almost the only unionists who could meet such requirements are top officials of the international unions which make up CIO. It is doubtful that any one of these officers would voluntarily surrender his essential trade-union base for a considerably less secure position. For while the new executive vice-president can hold membership in his own international union, the CIO position would be his full-time job.

With the unique type of internal politics which CIO has evolved, the acting president of the United Steelworkers David McDonald and Reuther will make the major decision on the man or men to fill Haywood's post. As the second largest CIO union, next to the sprawling Auto Workers, Steel supported Haywood in his race against Reuther for the CIO presidency. It is generally recognized that this union is entitled to have a big voice in the choice for the number-two spot.

McDonald, now, has perhaps the decisive power in decreeing whether the CIO will continue to be the close-knit, disciplined, militant group it has been up to now. Reuther, as president, is admirably equipped to lead the CIO but, ironically, it is McDonald who may determine whether he can be successful.

Haywood's successor will have a major impact on the CIO of the future, its rise or fall. Most of the mass-production industries have already been organized. Southern textiles, chemicals, synthetics and atomic energy are almost the only major exceptions. The real challenge of organization lies among these and the millions of white-collar workers.

Allan Haywood has done his work well, but its permanent value will be measured in terms of how his contemporaries and successors carry on from here.

HARRY CONN

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THE COMMUNIST—NEO-FASCIST ALLIANCE

THE ITALIAN Parliament's vote of confidence in Premier Alcide de Gasperi on the issue of the new electoral law for next June's national election has Europe-wide, if not worldwide political importance. For he won it against every trick of obstruction which the Communists and the neo-Fascists together could play, including the longest filibuster in the country's parliamentary history. And in winning it by what amounted to a preventive *coup d'etat*, within the legal rules of democratic parliamentary procedure, he set a pattern for the next phase of the Cold War in Europe, if not in the world.

By the new law, the group of parties which wins a bare majority of 50.1 percent of the votes in the June election will get 65 percent of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Not only the Communists and the neo-Fascists but also some of Democratic Socialists and even members of the present government coalition condemned the law as parliamentary jerrymandering. They said de Gasperi was at last taking the road toward becoming an Italian Salazar.

In practice, whatever may be the political morality of the law (or its absence), it will permit de Gasperi to win the election before the Italian voters go to the polls. For it assures his Christian Democratic Party, with its small allies, the Democratic Socialist, Liberal and Republican Parties, the power to carry out the task of governing the country for the next few years, at least. And these are years, almost inevitably, of growing Communist obstructionism and, even more certainly predictable, of rising neo-Fascist power.

The Premier was entirely frank about the reason for his taking unorthodox, even Fascist-tinged steps to guarantee a balance of domestic political forces.

> I must confess to you the real reason for the electoral reform law. We presented it because we foresaw the merger of the two extreme wings of Parliament. We feared that, though in strong contrast to each other, they might join in negation, making the existence of any government impossible or difficult, thus creating a situation in Italy that already and often presents itself elsewhere: paralysis of the parliamentary system."

First of all, Italy has been used both by the Soviet East and the US-led West as the political proving ground of Europe since the earliest days of the Cold War, in the winter of 1947-1948. The last Italian national election, in April, 1948, was the first setback for the Soviets after the Prague putsch. Italy's special connection with Trieste gave her a role in the Tito rebellion that started the unmaking of the Cominform.

Then, Palmiro Togliatti has long been the Kremlin's number-one man in the West, and it was through him and his ally, Pietro Nenni, the number-one Socialist fellow-traveler, that Moscow launched the "popular-front-peace" line.

Above all, de Gasperi's successful frontal defense-by-attack tactic against the merger of the two extreme wings of parliament is also a successful skirmish in the long pull tug of war that, in Europe, is gradually replacing the Cold War. For the basic element in Soviet policy is just such a merger—of Communism with neo-Fascism and neo-Nazism. In Italy—the proving ground—it is naked. In France, it is emergent. In Germany, the anguished protestations of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer do not change the facts.

It is just under a year since the Kremlin—on March 10, 1952—offered the Germans the chance for a national army and a total whitewashing of the Nazis, old and new. That proposal has become part of a "hard" line.

The London Times says: "Far from internationalism being on the increase in German thinking, it is giving place to the more familiar creed of straightforward nationalism."

And even if Adenauer is right in denouncing the British for lack of "tact" in revealing the ties that join Dr. Friedrich Middelauwe of the Free Democrats and Werner Naumann to Generals Guderian and Halder and Colonel Skorzeny, there is no doubt that the new nationalism in Germany is at least militaristic, and the "myth of Tauroggen" is very much abroad in the German air.

It was in Tauroggen, a small East Prussian town, that the Prussian General Yorck on December 30, 1812, signed a pact of neutrality with a Russian General, thereby betraying his king who was Napoleon's ally. It was in the name of the "myth of Tauroggen" that General Seydlitz went over to the Soviets during World War Two. And when General Hoffmeister surrendered to the Red Army, he said that "Germany and Russia together can rule the world."

The fact that the Communist-neo-Fascist alliance is the key to Soviet policy in Western Europe offers a striking parallel. While de Gasperi is trying to prevent a merger of the two extreme wings in Italy, Marshal Stalin is also killing off the two extreme wings behind the Iron Curtain. These are, on the one hand, the zealots who believed in a miraculous Soviet "New Era"; and, on the other hand, the doubters—those who had once had some connection with the West and who, therefore, were infected with satellite separatism.

The over-all purpose of the purge is to "liberate" the Soviet world of all those who might favor defense against the Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine and strategy of liberation either by war or by co-operation. The new form of "co-existence" calls for soldiers with iron nerves and inquisitioners with no nerves. As for Jews, neither German generals and neo-Nazis nor Moslem nationalists and fanatics like them. Nor for that matter do neo-Fascists—Italian or French—and one of the developments to watch is the "Jewish policy" of the Communist leaders in Rome and Paris.

Paris PERCY WINNER

[For reasons outside my (and also the *NR*'s) control, this must be the last of my present, nearly five-year-long series of weekly articles for the *NR*. It is by no means my first series—there were articles written by me in the *NR* as long ago as 1926. And I hope—as a matter of fact, I feel sure—that this will not be the last series. – P. W.]

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EDUCATION AND THE FREE-MIND PRINCIPLE

by A. Powell Davies

ANYONE who defends traditional American liberties today is viewed with suspicion. To hold, as the Founding Fathers did, that freedom of opinion is the basis of our national life is "being soft to Communists." To plead that academic freedom is essential to the growth of healthy minds is advocating that "subversives" be protected in our schools and colleges. To believe that American ideas can stand their ground in free debate is close to treason. To be a patriot, one must assume that American principles are not defensible in open argument and that "Communist notions," unless suppressed, would prove invincible. A "good" American is thus a frightened American whose loyalty is measured by his fear of his antagonists, who have terrified him with their intellectual potency.

This fantasy must be exposed for what it is: a renunciation of our democratic faith and a subversion of our freedom. Nothing in our situation makes it necessary, and nothing ever could. I know as well as anyone that Communists are dangerous enemies. I have opposed them always. They are agents of a Kremlin-led conspiracy. They would use our freedom to destroy our freedom and we must frustrate them. But we must also frustrate all others who attack our freedom; and we must repulse those who would have us think that freedom, in our present situation, has become too dangerous to use. For the fact is that freedom can be lost through timidity just as readily as through conspiracy.

What is the test of freedom? Surely, it is the right to hold and openly declare unpopular opinions. To confuse a non-conformist with a Communist is to forsake American principles for Soviet ones. In Russia, all must conform; in the United States freedom of opinion is the basis of our national life and always has been. We cannot modify it, either in colleges or anywhere else, without yielding to the principle of forced conformity which we despise in Communists.

We are forgetting what it means to be Americans. Let us be taught, then, by the Founding Fathers. By Hamilton, for instance—no liberal by temperament or in his social aims—but who was just as clear as Jefferson on what it meant to be a free American. All loyalty oaths he scornfully denounced. Such an oath, he said, "substitutes for the established and legal mode of investigating crimes and inflicting forfeitures one that is unknown to the Constitution and repugnant to the genius of our law." Among other things, he continued, such oaths "invert the order of things," obliging the citizen to establish his innocence and holding out a "bribe to perjury." [Quoted in *Cummings v. Missouri*, 4 Wall. 277, 330-31 (1867).]

It is this that our present alarmists, fearful of "subversion," seem unable to perceive. A dishonest man will take an oath of orthodoxy without the slightest scruple, having no intention of being bound by it, whereas an honest man may refuse to take it even though his views are not discordant with it, simply because it transgresses his freedom to follow his own reason and his own conscience, and thus humiliates him and makes him less a man. The only good loyalty oath, or at least tolerable one, is that sworn by the subjects of the ancient King of Aragon, in the presence of their monarch, quoted by Francis Biddle, in his book, *The Fear of Freedom*, as follows: "We, who are as good as you, swear to you, who are not better than we, to accept you as our king and sovereign lord, provided that you observe all our liberties and laws; but if not, then not."

The loyalty oaths devised today for faculties of schools and colleges would seem to Hamilton completely useless. He would know that Communists would treat them cynically, that they would be "a bribe to perjury." Why should anyone expect otherwise? In an instruction given to Communist teachers in 1937, when the party was still willing to print its directives openly, we read as follows:

> The Party must take careful steps to see that all teacher comrades are given thorough education in the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. Only when teachers have really mastered Marxism-Leninism will they be able skillfully to inject it into their teaching at the least risk of exposure and at the same time to conduct struggles around the schools in a truly Bolshevik manner. [*The Communist*, May, 1937. Quoted in V. T. Thayer, *American Education under Fire*, p. 162.]

Clearly, teachers who have learned the art of perfidy along these lines will not boggle when it comes to loyalty oaths; indeed, such oaths will give them a protective coloration. That is why they are useless.

But besides being useless, they are pernicious. Not many teachers are injecting Communism into their teaching, "skillfully" or otherwise, because not many Communists are teachers. Indeed, not many Communists are anything, since in this country they form such a small minority. As spies and saboteurs there are enough of them to be dangerous, but as subverters of our educa-

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tional system they are scarcely numerous enough to be a nuisance. This is so clear that it is obvious that loyalty oaths must have another purpose. Communism is a pretext: the oaths are used to make it easier to attack unpopular opinions. That is why some of our fervid and frenetic "patriots" are eager for them. They want, not so much to ferret out conspiracy, which in any case is better done by the FBI, but to discredit freedom of discussion. They want to nullify our founding principles. Their own opinions, which they are not able to maintain by free and open debate, they wish to see imposed upon our educational system. Some of them want the educational system itself demolished; they are not aware of it—not quite, not yet— but what they would really like is a populace with education enough to maintain the mechanics of society but insufficient to encourage critical evaluation.

Now, this has been going on for a long time, though not, of course, at its present intensity. There have always been those who have been afraid of freedom of discussion. Insecure in their own opinions, they have sought safety through repressing the opinions of others. But safety does not come that way. It may be disagreeable to have an opinion proved false, but it is downright dangerous to persist in a false opinion as though it were true. In today's perilous world, it is more than ever vital to insist at every cost upon the soundness of our understanding. With a "party line" to follow, this would be impossible. To arrive at truth we need the conflict of opinion.

In our educational system, as elsewhere, we must invite the controversial. Unpopular opinion can be highly valuable. If it is wrong, we learn something by proving it wrong. If it is right, it helps us to redeem mistakes.

We must know the truth about everything that affects us—including Communism. For Communism is affecting us very much. It is forcing us to fight a holding action in Korea and to maintain large and expensive defenses, and it threatens us with devastating war. We need to know all we can about it—not just enough to make us curse it but enough to let us understand why multitudes are being deluded by it. It is not enough that a few experts should be asked to undertake this study. All who attend our colleges and universities should undertake it. Communism must not be made to seem so potent that no one can study it without being attracted to it. I, for one, deny that it has that potency; and I have studied it for a long time. I do not mind if there are those who say good things about it, so long as they do it not as indoctrinators, under orders, but as free men and openly. I shall be glad if anyone can make me hope that there is enough good in Communism merely to make it possible for us to live with it until it changes for the better. Whether this is possible I do not know. But I would want it freely discussed. I do not resign myself to Armageddon.

As to Communism in this country, it is inconceivable to anyone in his right mind that the American people are in danger of becoming Communists. They never were, even in depression days, and it is less likely now than ever. We can afford our academic freedom—we can afford it easily. And we need it; we need it urgently. Yet, this is the freedom which is now endangered. The intended investigations into colleges and universities are not aimed so much at Communists, of whom there can only possibly be very few, but at the free mind principle itself. Communism is the pretext. On the pretense of putting out a fire, these "commissars" will loot the premises and make them uninhabitable. If they succeed in higher education, they will presently succeed with books and newspapers. They will go on from one area of our national life to another, as did their counterparts in Hitler's Germany, in Franco Spain, and in Russia and its conquered satellites. Nor will business be exempt—any more than it was in Germany. When freedom begins to be lost, it continues to be lost. The reason is very simple. Those who take some of it away are afraid of what remains. It threatens them and they meet the threat by increasing the area of suppression.

In America they have already intimidated the government workers; they have cowed elected representatives: now they go on to the centers of learning. If they succeed there, the newspapers will be next. Then, publishers of books. Then, labor unions. Then, churches. Congress *will* make laws "affecting establishments of religion." I have put churches at the end of the road but I am not sure. They could come much sooner.

To the Founding Fathers, of course, the churches were the clearest, most conspicuous case where freedom was essential. But not the only case. What would Jefferson have said of interference by the government with colleges and universities? Our colleges and universities are not responsible to the government but to their own trustees, their own faculties and to public opinion. They can protect themselves without the help of government from anything that Communists may try to do to undermine them—and they can do it while maintaining academic freedom.

It is by the widening of knowledge, the deepening of insight, the growth of wisdom, that the level of our life must rise. And this requires freedom. That is what our Fathers knew. They were not merely theorists. They knew the bitter taste of history. And so they gave us the free-mind principle to be our heritage. Are we willing to lose it?

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THE OPPORTUNITIES OF DEFEAT

by Adlai Stevenson

WE MAY BE a defeated party, but we are not a beaten party. We are not a beaten party for many reasons and the most important is that we have been honest with the people. We made no effort to sugar-coat bitter problems so that they would be easier to swallow. We told the truth; we spoke our minds. And we emerged from the campaign with more good will in the bank than any other defeated party in recent history. I am confident that if we continue to be forthright with the American people, our bank account of respect will continue to grow.

We must, therefore, be honest with the people by supporting the new Administration when we believe it to be serving the national interest. If we learned anything from the last election, it was that a little "me-tooism" in the right places will never do lasting injury to any political party.

The people have entrusted the governing power to the Republican Party and to General Eisenhower; they are now the instruments of our national purposes. It is not the part of patriotism—or even self-interest—to thwart them.

Upon the new President have been laid great burdens in a time of peril for us all. As he labors under their crushing weight, he will have our good will, our good wishes and our prayers.

Indeed, we have all been heartened by the occasions on which the President, under the sobering responsibility of authority, has shown that he respects the public weal more than ebullient campaign oratory. He has quite properly rebuked Republicans in Congress for unseemly haste in cutting taxes before making the hard decisions on where, and when and if expenses can be cut. . . . And in the resolution he has just proposed, the President has repudiated the Republican campaign mythology about dark and sinister agreements at Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam. The proposed resolution relates to the breach of those agreements by the Soviet Government, shameless violations which have long been denounced by everybody, Democrats and Republicans alike. Let us, I say, no longer make cynical political capital by pretending that we ever conspired in the tragedy that has befallen great nations.

Tempting as it is, I shall not dwell on the unworthy and misleading words that have been uttered of late about the Seventh Fleet, words implying that President Truman's purpose was to protect Red China rather than Formosa. But while supporting the Republicans when they act in the national interest, we have an equal responsibility to oppose them when they do violence to the public interest.

In the coming months, many questions await resolution by the Congress and the people. One of the first is tidelands oil. . . . However the Congress may decide the question, let us make sure that it does not set in motion the piecemeal dismemberment of our great public domain which is held for the benefit of all the people of the United States.

There are powerful interests who interpret the election as heralding an open season for the retail and wholesale transfer to the states of our great national assets—the forests, the grazing lands, the water and the minerals. Already the Republican Chairman of the Senate Interior Committee has darkly hinted that such plans are afoot.

In this connection, if you will indulge me a moment, you may be amused, as I was, by a telegram to Senator Clements from a man in Kentucky:

> Chattanooga *Daily Times* . . . quotes Senator Welker in Lincoln Day speech as favoring sale of Post Office Department to private interests. Please advise when bids are to be opened. I represent eight plumbers and one Republican who wish to acquire this property. Also interested in United States Mint and Fort Knox if they are for sale.

I hope we don't forget that the public domain belongs to Democrats and Republicans alike, and, as Theodore Roosevelt warned us long ago, the descendants of both will pay the price if we do not preserve their heritage for them. And I confidently expect that the Democrats in Congress will be the public's guardians of our forests and our parks; our great reclamation programs and our family-sized farms; and of low-cost power for all the people.

Likewise, we must vigilantly protect the great programs of social progress which we have initiated in the past 20 years and which may be in for something less than sympathetic treatment.

Incidentally, I had been under the very distinct impression, a few months back, that the Republicans had made off with the Democratic farm plank. I guess I was wrong. They just borrowed it temporarily, and returned it very early in November. . . .

One of the most exciting aspects of the campaign for me was the activity of so many independent-minded citizens, many of whom had never before participated in

This is an address delivered by Adlai E. Stevenson at the Western States Jefferson-Jackson Dinner in Los Angeles, Calif., February 26, 1953.

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a political campaign. They found it exciting and satisfying to join in making the Nation's greatest decisions: What our government is to do about war and peace; about depression and prosperity; about human rights and human liberties. But politics, good politics, is not merely a quadrennial or biennial burst of enthusiasm; nor is it a function reserved to the so-called professionals. In its highest and truest sense, politics is leadership; and leadership is a time-consuming, brain-consuming and energy-consuming job—a job that is open to all United States citizens.

This means that you must organize in your communities; you must get and give the truth. In the places where our organization was deficient, we must not turn our faces from the truth, but we must set ourselves to the tough task of putting our house in order.

Forty years ago the Democratic Party was just assuming power, after a long period out of office. In that moment of triumph Woodrow Wilson said this in his First Inaugural Address: "The success of a party means little except when the Nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose."

Now that is a chastening statement of principle which our Republican friends would currently do well to bear in mind. And each of us as individual citizens, owing as we do our first and foremost allegiance to the purposes of our country rather than to those of our party, should be careful never to obstruct the one in order to advance the other.

Wilson's sober appraisal of the significance of party victory can be validly applied to our own present situation. A political party which cannot in defeat make itself an effective instrument of larger national purposes is without significance in the future political life of the country; and sooner rather than later, it will be so marked by the people to whom it must look for the return of trust and confidence and victory.

I believe that there is meaning to be found in defeat as well as in victory, that there is important and vital work to be done by the vanquished as well as by the victor. The task we face as a minority party is first, to face resolutely away from the tempting paths of vindictiveness. So far as I can observe, that is already being done, with a firm conviction in its essential rightness. The second part of our job is to define a course of thought and action which contributes to the national welfare, for the national interest is both paramount and inseparable from party interest.

One of the most challenging aspects of this job is that it seems never to have been done well in the past. Latterly, in 20 years of opposition, the Republican Party never distinguished itself except by the shrill vehemence of its criticism of the imperative adjustments to the facts of life, both at home and abroad, which were made under the imaginative and determined leadership of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. Our Republican friends evidently thought the definition of minority was the converse of maturity; that responsible conduct was not required until they attained majority status. Growing up is always a painful process. The necessity for doing so swiftly makes it worse. Perhaps it is a partisan thought but I hope the Republican suffering is confined to that party and not spread to the country.

There is, then, a unique opportunity for our Party to achieve a new distinction. If we make the most of it, we not only best assure our own eventual triumph, but we may create a pattern of political conduct for others to see and follow, to the lasting benefit of the nation.

I fervently hope that we will seize from defeat the great opportunity it provides to renew and rebuild our strength. The times are propitious. Some 14 million more people voted in 1952 than ever before. I hope that none of these people will be permitted to return to business as usual. I hope they will be actively enrolled in the political parties and continue their work there.

If the Democratic Party is to attract its share of this new interest, it will have to provide an atmosphere in which idealism and dedication to the public good will not be stifled or stultified. For the party out of power, principle—and not patronage—must inevitably be the only solvent. Let us not fail to make a virtue of our necessity.

Out of power as in, the Democratic Party must assert its pioneering concern for urgent human needs and bring to bear upon them its imaginative genius, kindled and warmed as always by the quality of human sympathy which has been our special distinction and strength; which has made ours the party not only of the heart to feel, but of the head to do.

Lastly, there is the staggering question of the tormented world about us. It was the Democratic Party—in power—which faced up to the fact of Prussian imperialism and first accepted an obligation to try to make democracy secure. It was the Democratic Party—in power—which rasped the compelling dangers of Fascist imperialism, and once again directed the hope of mankind into collective efforts to ensure peace. It was the Democratic Party—in power—which identified Communist imperialism as no different from its earlier blood brothers and moved with courage and determination to check its sway. The leadership responsibilities in this era of the Democratic Party—out of power—are no less great.

Within a few days I shall head west across the Pacific. Almost at the top of my itinerary stands the name of

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Korea—that long narrow thrust of mountainous land which sticks like a dagger in our hearts and is never absent from our waking thoughts.

We of the Democratic Party know that the Korean War played a major role in the last election; that it reflected a natural impatience and frustration which obscure our vision and understanding of our objectives and the victories we have won in the most remarkable effort the world has ever seen to make collective security work. In choosing to repel the first armed aggression of the Communists, we chose to make bitter sacrifices today to save civilization tomorrow. We chose to expend some strength now while building greater strength for the future. We chose to fight a limited war today to avoid a global war tomorrow.

Wise and courageous as these decisions were—and continue to be—they grow more difficult to understand as the misery and despair lengthen, and the cost mounts. The loss of a life is no less bitter today because some time, in the unseen future, a hundred lives might be saved—or even a million.

We set out to save the Republic of Korea from aggression, and we succeeded.

We set out to avert a global atomic war, and thus far we have succeeded.

We set out to make it clear that naked aggression, the need of world war, will no longer go unpunished as in the past—and we have succeeded.

And I for one hope and pray that we shall be spared the spectacle of Democratic orators taking a leaf from recent history and mouthing nonsense about "Eisenhower's war." Rather we stay out of office forever than win it back that way!

There are leaders among us who would have you forget our successes; who exploit frustration and impatience; who tell you that we already are at total war and there is little to be risked by enlarging the war to the mainland of China.

There are those, too, who offer false hope of quick and easy solutions—tinsel policies which glitter to the eye but crumple in the hand—when our need is for policies of iron: dull and unspectacular, perhaps, but strong and enduring.

We Democrats have a special duty in all this—we who chafed under the yoke of responsibility during the postwar years while Europe was saved and imperialist Communism stopped in Korea—we who suffered all the while the taunts of irresponsible opposition. We must continue, I say, to tell the people the truth, as we told them throughout the campaign, that there are no magic, cheap, short solutions to global conflict long in the making. And I say to you and all who listen that we must not yield to the temptation to goad the Republicans to produce quick miracles and dazzling successes. Let us never sow division when it is so important to harvest unity.

The tensions and difficulties may get worse before they get better in Europe, in the Middle East, in Asia—all around this world, divided and in revolution. Millions of people are as sorely puzzled as many of us here at home. The nature of the struggle is by no means clear to them and, unlike this heaven-favored land, there is lacking to many the same incentives to make the struggle. We must labor to increase these incentives, to prove to misery-laden millions that democracy can provide the right to think, to believe, and to eat, as well as vote.

That others have reservations about our unerring wisdom, that some cannot or will not fall in step at our pace must not exasperate and defeat us. We must take care not to amuse our foes and frighten our friends. And, in the dark majesty of the issue of life or death, neither of us will advance our overriding interest in peace by outbursts of temper against each other or by ill-considered muscle-flexing against the common foe.

Patience—firm, intelligent, understanding—seems to be in short supply. Yet, it is the indispensable quality of leadership of the diverse elements of the free world and of the uncommitted millions groping their way into the sunlight of a better world, pray God. It is also the essential of a political party which, after the exhilaration of executive responsibility, finds itself in the less dramatic role of proving again its qualifications for public confidence.

What we as a party must cultivate is what the nation must have. In defeat we can make ourselves servants of the national purpose for peace. There is no greater or better political destiny.

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WEST POINTERS IN THE WHITE HOUSE

by Wilfred E. Binkley

WHEN WILL we ever learn once and for all the truth demonstrated time and again throughout more than a century and a half that the Presidency is preeminently a political office and consequently a tough one for amateurs? Sen. Robert A. Taft roars out "incredible" over a Cabinet nomination, not hysterically but with the cool and calculating design of reminding the amateur President that there is a Senate equipped with an ancient usage euphemistically denominated "courtesy." Nevertheless the perplexed President permits himself to be pressured into disregarding the wholesome urgings of influential Republicans that Chester Bowles be retained as ambassador to India where he is performing an indispensable service, rewinning for the United States the confidence of a doubting people. So the President announces instead the selection of ex-Governor Val Peterson of Nebraska only to be reminded again that there is such a thing as Senatorial courtesy when both Senators from that state recite in concert that Peterson is personally unacceptable to them.

Misconstruing the meaning of the heavy Southern Democratic vote for him, President Eisenhower, in his innocence of the ways of politics, is said to be finding it disconcerting to discover that Democratic Senators and Representatives are after all still Democrats. It is simply inconceivable that Democrats, even the most conservative Southerners in the two houses, will sit back serenely and leave the strategic seats of power—the speakerships and the committee chairmanships—to be held permanently by Republicans. With impeccable good manners they will observe for a season the proprieties of the traditional Presidential honeymoon. But who can doubt that they are busy even now whetting their knives in the seclusion of their party conclaves. There they are filing away a rapidly accumulating set of prize war cries: "What's good for General Motors is good for the country," "Eight millionaires and a plumber," "Legalisms"—the contemptuous term used by a Cabinet nominee repeatedly against statutes prohibiting federal officials from letting government contracts in which they have a financial interest. And all this live campaign ammunition handed to the opposition in less than a fortnight.

Here is only part of the price a minority party has paid again and again in order to win the Presidency with a politically inexperienced candidate instead of a party program that appeals to the electorate. The numerically weak Whigs paid it in 1840 when they elected Gen. William H. Harrison and in 1848 when they elected Gen. Zachary Taylor.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower is not the first politically inexperienced man or even the first West Point graduate to attain the Presidency. Eighty-four years ago Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, the only other graduate of West Point to become President, was inaugurated. Paradoxically, this most inept of all the Presidents was the only Republican ever to serve two full terms. Half a dozen Democratic Presidents have done so, and another Democratic President served a little more than three terms. Neither West Point nor his military service, nothing whatever in Grant's previous experience, had given him the slightest trace of an apprenticeship in the difficult art of politics so indispensable in the Presidency. Even Harding, whom the 55 historians polled by A. M. Schlesinger Sr. ranked with Grant at the bottom of the list of Presidents, had, through years of experience, become politically expert in comparison with Grant. In the election of Grant then, even as in the election of Eisenhower in our time, the American people seem to have attempted flight from the politicians by turning to one who would put these politicians to shame.

The ecstasy over the inauguration of Eisenhower was mild by comparison with that over the accession of Grant to the Presidency. "To doubt Grant is to doubt Christ" is the way a contemporary expressed the prevailing faith in the man who had saved the Union. "The masses look to him with an almost superstitious hope." wrote Representative, soon to become Senator, George F. Hoar. Level-headed James Russell Lowell revealed the prevailing mood in his opinion that Grant would disappoint the extremists. Even sophisticated young Henry Adams was to write long afterward:

> At least four-fifths of the American people—Adams among the rest—had united in the election of General Grant to the Presidency and had been more or less affected in their choice by the parallel they felt between Grant and Washington. Nothing could be more obvious. General Grant represented order. He might be as partisan as he pleased, but a General who had organized and commanded half a million or a million men in the field must know how to administer.

People are prone to think of politicians as schemers or intriguers, which meaning, it is important to note, is labeled by the International Dictionary "obsolete." Few

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Presidents have needed the counsel of politicians more than our two West Pointers. While it is now evident enough that Eisenhower has been inadequately briefed by the politically-wise, Grant, who needed it far more than Eisenhower started out with no briefing whatever. No one, not even his wife, had the slighest inkling as to his "staff" as he characteristically denominated his Cabinet until the list of nominations was read to a dumbfounded Senate. It was evident in Grant's case that a soldier no less than a businessman is psychologically conditioned by his vocational experience and carries over into a political office the patterns of thinking of his craft. Henry Adams was prompt to observe concerning Grant's impossible Cabinet that "a great soldier can be a baby politician." The announcement of the incongruous aggregation of personal friends in his Cabinet broke the spell of Grant's prestige among knowing Americans. In his disillusionment Henry Adams was to admit: "The progress of evolution from Washington to Grant was alone enough to upset Darwin." In fact the Cabinet had to be reconstituted before the Administration could begin functioning.

Because of Grant's extreme secrecy with respect to his Cabinet selections, his nominee for Secretary of the Navy, Adolph E. Borie, got the first intimation of his appointment from a newspaper he was reading while aboard a train. There was nothing to commend Borie for the Cabinet except his wealth accumulated in banking, railroad enterprises and Civil War contracts and the fact that he had contributed heavily toward the purchase of a Philadelphia home for Grant. He was so little known that neither of the Pennsylvania Senators had ever heard of him before his nomination was submitted to the Senate. During the short time he served in the Navy post Borie frequently said: "The Department is managed by Admiral Porter; I am only a figure head," and he resigned after a few months.

Grant was to have an experience with one Cabinet nomination as soul-harrowing as Eisenhower's with his Defense Department nominees. He had selected as his Secretary of the Treasury Alexander T. Stewart, a millionaire merchant prince of New York City. Stewart had promoted Grant's candidacy, entertained him in his home, had contributed heavily to the purchase of a home for Grant in Washington and had showered him and Mrs. Grant with expensive gifts. Grant may not have been influenced by the gifts but probably thought Stewart eminently fitted for the Treasury post which in fact he may well have been. Stewart in any case had no opportunity to cut such a sorry figure as Charles E. Wilson before the Senate Armed Services Committee. The Senate in 1869 followed the custom throughout most of our history of promptly confirming the President's choice of his Cabinet. Stewart rushed to Washington, engaged a suite of hotel rooms and leased a house only to discover that he was not qualified for the Treasury post. The statute establishing the Treasury Department provided that "no person appointed to the office [Secretary of the Treasury] shall be directly or indirectly concerned in carrying on the business of trade or commerce." So eager was Stewart for the office that he offered to transfer his entire business to trustees who would apply his entire profits during his term to charity. Grant appealed to Congress to repeal the prohibitory provision even as some have recently suggested modification of the law prohibiting the Defense Department officials from having a financial interest in contracts let by the Department. But there was no pussyfooting about the law in 1869, and Stewart had to go.

Grant's compelling obsession was adoration of millionaires. Before the war he had become so impoverished that acquaintances would cross the street to avoid meeting him and having to refuse the loan of half a dollar. So infatuated with rich men did Grant consequently become that, when President, he once appeared in the private box of Jim Fisk along with that unspeakable financial rake in his theatre which the sedate historian James Ford Rhodes averred provided him with both investment and a harem. Apparently it was Grant's firm belief that a million dollars can't be wrong. It must be pointed out that Grant did not appoint eight millionaires to his Cabinet—millionaires were not so plentiful then as now, but the insuperable obstacle to appointing eight was that there were only seven Cabinet posts. Grant's score was only two millionaires out of seven which compares rather favorably with eight out of nine.

No sooner was Grant settled in the White House than he sent his private secretary Orville B. Babcock on a secret mission to Santo Domingo. Babcock returned before long with a treaty of annexation negotiated with a Dominican he met who said he was President of the Republic. But Grant had neglected to mention the project in advance to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. Charles Sumner, the extraordinarily touchy if not neurotic chairman of the committee, saw to it that the treaty never had a chance. Grant vented his indignation by using his influence to depose Sumner from his chairmanship of the committee. He never reconciled himself to the failure to annex Santo Domingo because, as he expressed his hopes in his final State of the Union message, "the soil would have fallen into the hands of United States capitalists."

While it concerns a quite different matter, Grant's Dominican project is suggestive of, if it does not quite smell of, such a matter as off-shore oil today. It is pa-

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thetic that General Eisenhower was trapped and committed on the issue of off-shore oil before he had any but the most grotesque misconception of its meaning, as his confused comments on it have since revealed. He does not yet see that it involves giving away the national domain. Now after 20 years of conservation policies under Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, the Republicans appear about to resume the party's historic role in the most gigantic transfer yet of national resources, a move that could turn out in the long run to signify national disaster.

President Eisenhower is under no necessity of following in the footsteps of President Grant who was certainly far more naïve, and much less realistic than President Eisenhower. Eisenhower's habit of conferring with others is promising. He needs to learn, learn fast, very fast the perplexing art of politics. He is unquestionably bedeviled by some of the same handicaps as Grant. Both entered the Presidency inexperienced in the most essential of all Presidential qualifications, the skill of the politician in which Lincoln was apparently the ablest of all the Presidents. Both Grant and Eisenhower started out unfamiliar with some of the most fundamental usages by which government operates. Both were captivated by millionaires, and Eisenhower went in for that kind far more than Grant in constructing his administrative organization. How it was possible to turn up so many millionaires after 20 years of government shackling of business and 20 years of unbearable tax burdens is a matter that ought to be investigated.

President Eisenhower evidently has accepted without qualification the prevalent mythology that a successful businessman becomes automatically a competent public administrator when appointed to such a post. One can surmise that such a conviction was shaken in the first two weeks of his Administration unless he is shock proof. The delusion came close to being demolished by emphatic demonstration. Even George Sokolsky minced no words about this matter in his column of January 29 commenting on the Charles E. Wilson fiasco:

> The more effective a man is in business, the more competent he has been in management, the more difficulties he will face in government. And the reasons are so obvious that it is difficult to understand why the businessmen, who are usually so flexible, do not grasp the psychology of the situation.

When will this become equally obvious to a President who packs his Administration with just such men at the very time he needs above everything else the politically wise who recognize the place of Congress in our system and who can create a favorable impression on Congressmen against the day when the honeymoon ends and the opposition starts the inevitable fusillade with a view to the mid-term campaign to capture Congress? V. O. Key epitomized the essential point when he wrote: "Men with the minds of tradesmen do not make statesmen."

Plain common sense ought to settle the matter beyond controversy that when a businessman becomes a successful public administrator, it will not be because he was a businessman but because he has some extra skills not peculiar to business experience. The public administrator is far more than just a manager. He must be above all a mediator adept in reducing to a minimum the frictions between the public, the legislature and his technical subordinates. His toughest problem is the legislature. If Charles E. Wilson has not learned that yet, he soon will, or he will find his job simply impossible. A disdainful attitude toward a Senate committee performing its legitimate function is as far as possible from the mark of an administrator. Sneering at statutory safeguards against using public office to the financial advantage of the office-holder and dismissing them as "legalisms" would be incredible if it had not actually happened, as the testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee is said to show again and again.

Marquis Childs has been quite specific in pointing out that what is good for General Motors can be, if it has not already been, bad for the United States. Childs had been reading the report of the House committee revealing that the government's methods of purchasing automotive spare parts were resulting in excessive costs amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars, and the committee investigators alleged that this excess went in profits to companies supplying the parts.

As if a bad enough impression had not been made before his confirmation, the first official act of the Secretary of Defense was an executive order designed to make it possible for others in the Defense Department still to retain their financial interests in companies making defense contracts, but this move proved to be in vain.

Seldom has it been more conclusively demonstrated that the Presidency is a political office difficult indeed for the politically inexperienced. The "new broom" of the Great Crusade is already a bit bedraggled even before it has been put to much use. Samuel Lubell predicted that it would take just one Republican Administration to make the New Deal secure. He could be correct. At any rate the mills of the gods seem not only to be grinding exceedingly fine but also exceedingly fast. Unless certain tendencies in the new Administration can be brought promptly under control by the strong hands of the President, serious trouble for the future may begin to take form.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

IN SPITE OF THE WORDS

by Elizabeth Bowen

"I DO WHAT I please and I am willing to be misunderstood. The thing which is important is that which comes out in spite of the words." So speaks William Saroyan, quoted on the back of the jacket of *The Laughing Matter*, his fifth novel. To the newcomer to Mr. Saroyan's work, the declaration offers a helpful clue. Whether to *be* a newcomer, at this late date, places one at an advantage or disadvantage, one cannot say:

THE LAUGHING MATTER, by William Saroyan (Doubleday; $3.50).

some claim may be made to a fresh approach; but as against that one cannot fail to react—can but have reacted well in advance—to the vast, existing, pervasive reputation. A bulk of feeling, whether for or against, palpably surrounds the Saroyan name.

Here is what must be called an *affective* writer—one who has, that is to say, worked upon, tinged and to an extent created a whole mass of persons' conception of life. He supplies what a public is looking for, slant and atmosphere. He has not merely, by some august fortuity, happened, chanced or blundered upon a public; he may be said to have charmed one into existence and, by his blend of oddity with persuasive strength, bound his readers to him along his way. He is most impressive, apparently, when at his most disarming. "It is good," he has further laid down, "for a writer to act the way that will most effectively give the impression that he is a great writer. I think that I am a potentially great writer. I also think that I am a bum."

So far, short stories and plays have preponderated: since Chekhov, one has perceived, indeed expected, a sort of natural connection between the two forms. It should be added that probably since O. Henry nobody has done more than William Saroyan to endear and stabilize the short story, as it were, to guarantee it, to rescue it from its two extremes of possible disrepute—that of being purely esthetic, divorced from life, or purely commercial, divorced from virtue. Also, does not this writer tilt against the deadening uniformity of society, constituting himself the spokesman of the odd man out, the champion of the misfit, the chronicler of the bum? Herein may lie some part of his fascination for those who do not dare deviate, but might wish to. Here, one may infer, is a tempting, disturbing, repeated manifestation of innocence, on the part of somebody who has never sold out—the inspired, sometimes flamboyant alien, for whom nothing is yet quite normal in the American scene, and who flutters and dips in Americanism, like a bird in a bird-bath, without being in any way processed by it.

This novel, *The Laughing Matter*, is a terrible story. It contains not an iota of consolation, except irony—the last vision of a man trapped in an overturned burning car. A holiday idyll, a man and wife arriving with their children, a boy and girl, to be happy in a house in a vineyard, is soon shot through with misery, rage, remorse. The very first evening, sitting on the porch over drinks in the warm darkness the wife tells her husband that she is pregnant and that the child is not his. Neighbors arrive into what is already a madhouse scene—slammed doors, someone running away sobbing. Throughout the days in the vineyard, doomed to be few, the duet of agony between Evan and Swan Nazarenus continues: at the same time, an attempt is made to keep a pitch of normality for the children's sake. The neighbors, whose own marriage is precarious, are, with *their* children drawn in as sorts of assistants to the forlorn hope—visits, picnics, river-parties go on. A further factor is the Nazarenus family situation; the kind of exascerbated love-guilt existing between Evan, his dead father and his living brother—whose property the house in the vineyard is. Past-haunted, ill-adjusted, hostile and passionately allied, the Nazarenus menfolk are still unabsorbed aliens. Evan, the brother who has made out, is an instructor at Stanford University; Dade, still vagrant, speculates and gambles—yet it is Dade who carries the key to truth. Three appalling deaths terminate the story—which, like an Elizabethan drama, can be forced to an end in no other way. Violence evades the moral conclusion.

It is the manner of the telling that Mr. Saroyan is probably most himself. There is, for instance, a constant and it may be saving dilution of stark fact into tenderest whimsicality. Summer-lightning of fantasy flickers around the scene, giving the lie to its fixed proportions. The dialogue, particularly that between Evan and his children, makes a succession of adroit, though not always unfailing, escapes from point-blank inanity: the dot-and-carry-one rhythm of the talk has a peculiar effect on the reader's nerves—one may assume the effect to have been designed. At the same time, in some of the encounters between the husband and wife, Mr. Saroyan must be credited with a majestic realism—*why* this realism is not maintained, or whether, and if so why, the author did not wish or choose to maintain it, remains a question. It may be that if *The Laughing Matter* had been written in a wholly adult way, which is to say a wholly responsible way, the situation which is considered would be unbearable—it is not easily bearable as it is. On the other hand, had the novel been written in a wholly adult way, some sort of solution, some sort of elevation above the level of sheer disaster, might have been found. As a tragedy, this contains some flaw, some vein of vacuum or weakness. Symbolism and imagery, much used, intensify and heighten the atmosphere without fortifying the main theme: somehow, the air here is too charged and dense; for

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tragedy, should not the air be purified? One suspects—the suspicion is fatal, from time to time—that Mr. Saroyan is beholding rather than feeling: if he *felt* more it would, surely, be an instinctive matter for him to exercise more control. Were there more control, there would be greater evenness of the moral tempo, and the "real" scenes, already instanced, would strike with a greater force.

Masterfully economical as to words, Mr. Saroyan is—in this novel at any rate—almost recklessly prodigal as to feeling; or, that is to say, would be if more were *felt*. Too much happens, with too great rapidity and too violently; there is not enough space, nor indeed is there enough time, for anything to resound or echo; and accordingly one loses the sense of magnitude. Perhaps also one suffers from not knowing this family, or from knowing it for only a few minutes, a few pages, *before* it entered its wrecked, abnormal state. Some sense of outrage, some sense of the awesome and shocking impact of the unfamiliar upon the familiar is denied one.

One may, however, be asking of this book something its author never wished to convey—possibly, something foreign to its intention. Alienness, an incapacity for the familiar, a temperamental refusal of the normal—these, together, may be the inner subject. It would have taken less than that dire revelation made on the porch to demoralize the Nazarenus family, for whom there never *was* peace, nothing but dear illusions: the very children were born with hair-trigger nerves, to an inheritance of night-dark apprehensions. Mr. Saroyan has sunk his theme in his plot, his plot in his language, with an extreme cleverness. *The Laughing Matter* cannot, on one level, fail to engage us, fail to shock and distress. If it fails to move us, that may be because we remain at odds with Mr. Saroyan as to what is, in life or art, the important thing. Or, do we? He sketches a search for grace, the last-minute grace: reconciliation. "The thing which is important," let him repeat, "is that which comes out in spite of the words."

Miss Bowen, the Irish novelist and critic, has just completed a lecture tour of the US.

A FAITH FOR WRITING

THE WRITER IN AMERICA, by Van Wyck Brooks (Dutton; $3).

LAST YEAR Van Wyck Brooks started to write an introductory chapter to his five-volume history of the literary life in America, *Makers and Finders*. He found that the introduction would not be complete until he had stated a general attitude toward life and letters, with the result that one chapter grew into seven. Now they are published as a separate book, *The Writer in America*, which should be read by everyone interested in our literary situation, past, present and future.

I must add that the book is corrective rather than total, in the sense that it overweights some elements of the situation in the effort to restore a balance. But the balance needed to be restored, as Brooks's personal experience is enough to illustrate. He had spent twenty years in writing *Makers and Finders* and the first two volumes (1936 and 1940) had been received with unqualified, almost universal praise. The last three volumes (1944-52) were praised with reservations or condemned without them, although the volumes were excellent in themselves and completed a useful and impressive project. What had happened was that fashions had changed, that a new group of critics had reached a position of influence and that they did not accept Brooks's project as critical in their own definition of the word; some of them didn't even bother to understand what he was doing.

The new critics were not interested in the historical background of a work of art, or in the experiences or character or intentions of the author, or in the social effects of the work, or in the climate of literary opinion at a given period. They called themselves "ontological," in the sense that they were interested in the work itself as pure essence or being. They proposed to study its structure and texture, its internal relations, its rhythms and images and symbols, while leaving everything else to the sheer journalists or the mere scholars. Some of their studies proved to be extremely fruitful, as Brooks himself is willing to acknowledge. He quarrels with them partly because they magnify the importance of form at the expense of subject matter, but chiefly because they refuse to admit that other critical methods are also justified, including his own.

"How many writers' conferences," Brooks says, "how many books and magazines dwell each year, with fanatical concentration, on the 'form' of writing, never diverting a moment's thought from the question, How to write well, to the question, How to live well to be a writer?" All his life Brooks has asked that second question, which was central to his biographies of Mark Twain and Henry James. When he did not find the answer there, or found only part of it, the question led him further. He had observed that most American writers failed to develop and mature after a first display of their individual talents. He believed that their failure was largely due to the lack of a continuous literary tradition, something that would support and sustain the individual writer and give his work "more than an isolated meaning." But was the tradition really lacking, or was it merely overlooked and unrecognized?

At this point in his thinking, Brooks began the studies that led to *Makers and Finders*. Year after year he read the works and biographical records of older American writers, including philosophers, critics, travelers and historians as well as novelists and poets and including the forgotten as well as the famous. "My sole criterion," he says, "was style, which writers must have to rank as writers—whether they possess 'form' or not—the one indispensable mark of the significant in letters." At the end of his studies he decided "that, collectively speaking, our writers formed a guild, that they had even worked for a common end—an elevating end and deeply human—and that living writers, aware of this, could never quite feel as they had before, that they were working alone and working in the dark."

"It was never my intention," he continues, "to attempt to present the 'American mind', or to write a literary history in the usual sense." He had undertaken a different task, that of re-

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storing—even creating—a literary tradition in this country and reviving in our writers "the special kind of memory that fertilizes the living mind and gives it the sense of a base on which to build." Most of the attacks on *Makers and Finders* have disregarded this purpose and are not so much mistaken in detail as they are irrelevant and wasteful. Our culture is not so rich in works of scope and patience that we can afford to misunderstand the greatest work of literary scholarship our age produced.

Most effective when it explains Brooks's position and makes a counter-attack on his critical enemies, *The Writer in America* is least effective when it tries to prescribe a course of action for creative writers. Brooks believes that our younger novelists and poets have fallen victims to a fashionable pessimism about human nature, with the result that their books are either pointlessly brutal or wearily decorative. Against this dead hopelessness he sets "a prophet of our day," in a long chapter devoted to Lewis Mumford and the doctrines he propounds in books like *A Faith for Living*. Brooks would like to propose a faith for writing, based on the need for rehumanizing our literature. He admits that the younger writers are sincere, in the sense that their books resemble their subconscious minds, which are likewise filled with images of despair and brutality; but he urges the writers to save themselves by at least simulating a belief in human goodness, "following the advice of William James, who said that if one acts a part one presently develops the feelings that implement the action."

I am giving too brief a summary of Brooks's argument, which is developed at length and with honest eloquence. At this point, however, I can't help protesting that he forgets what he said about style as "the one indispensable mark of the significant in letters." Style is a quality that is almost impossible to define, though part of it is simply the ability to communicate one's meaning. Another part, however, is the sense that a personality exists behind the meaning and that the personality, too, is being honestly communicated: *le style c'est l'homme*. When Brooks advises young writers to assume an attitude toward life that they don't as yet honestly hold, he is advising them, in effect, not to reveal their true personalities, not to have a style and not to be worth including in a future study of writers in America.

But although I would not advise our novelists and poets to accept Brooks's course of treatment, neither would I say that their situation is without a remedy. It is a bad situation, we might as well admit, but the badness or rather the weakness doesn't lie in the pessimism of the younger writers so much as it lies in their rather dispirited correctness and conformity. They cannot become strong writers overnight or overyear by conforming to a new set of beliefs. What they might do instead is to go farther and deeper in their own directions, whatever those may be, to plunge into their difficulties and somehow work beyond them until they reach a new state of mind that depends on their whole lives instead of denying them. If they are going to continue the tradition of honest writing that Brooks has found in the American past and described at length for their benefit, they can't start by being hypocrites or turncoats.

MALCOLM COWLEY

THE MANY DA VINCIS

LEONARDO DA VINCI, by Sir Kenneth Clark (Cambridge; $7).

IN THIS NEW edition of his fine book on Leonardo, Sir Kenneth Clark has corrected several passages and added a short introductory essay, sketching his present conception of the artist. Here, as in other recent writings on Leonardo, the relation between his art and his work as a scientist has become a central problem. If the painter seems enigmatic, the mystery has shifted from the smiling woman to the man himself who appears increasingly complex. Clark is concerned with him chiefly as a painter; but he has also much to say about the man, for it is impossible to construct an image of the artistic personality without observing great contrasts in the artist who produced, beside pictures of a delicate grace and revery, others with a studied drama of expression, like the Last Supper, and one scene of absolute fury—the Battle of the Standard. There is also the unfinished state of several of his most important projects and the marked differences of quality—a range which is astonishing in an artist of Leonardo's genius. Clark believes, too, that Leonardo was not gifted naturally for the creation of harmony in painting and achieved good proportions and other classic qualities by intellectual means alone. To account for his variability, Clark supposes that Leonardo's scientific inclination, at first an instrument of his art, finally became an obstacle, imposing on his imagination the withering effects of theory. But even as a scientist, Leonardo was destined, he thinks, to despair: committed to a mechanistic conception of nature and trusting in mathematics, Leonardo soon came upon the continuously changing and the organic, phenomena that resisted mechanical explanations; and this frustrating awareness of the mystery of nature he symbolized in the smiling faces and pointing fingers of his images. The drawings of the Deluge express, too, in their destructive aspect his disillusionment with science which was incapable of dealing with change.

I think Clark has read the scientific writings with less care than he has scrutinized the paintings and drawings. What he takes to be a tragic conflict between the mechanical and the organic in Leonardo's thinking about nature is simply the span between statics and dynamics, the action of the heart which Clark mistakenly supposes stumped Leonardo because of its non-mechanical nature was rightly approached by the artist as a mechanical problem. For Leonardo the continuously changing was invariably conceived as subject to mechanical laws. Clark has accepted too lightly certain current ideas about the limits of science. This has led him to interpret Leonardo's famous saying that there is an infinity of laws (or causes) which have not yet been experienced to mean that nature is unknowable. At the same time, he overestimates the importance of mathematics in Leonardo's scientific work; if Leonardo regarded mathematics as the necessary means of science and rejected as unscientific the

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observations that cannot be formulated mathematically, his own use of mathematics was slight and uncreative. Clark assumes that Leonardo left Florence for Milan because intellectual life in Florence was dominated by the neo-Platonists who condemned mathematics as a false science. But he has misinterpreted here the statement of Pico della Mirandola that "mathematics is no true science." The context makes it perfectly clear that what Pico meant was that mathematics does not give us information about the world, but is a reliable and indispensable means in the sciences of nature (which, he affirms elsewhere, is governed by mathematical laws).

Sir Kenneth is on better ground when he deals with problems of authorship, in line with the modern critical tendency to reduce the number of Leonardo's authentic works. His judgments are carefully pondered and convincing. We miss, however, a more searching and imaginative approach to the forms and the conception of the themes in themselves. He is content for the most part with those observations that will help him decide whether a work is Leonardo's, where it belongs in time and what are its relations to the picture that preceded it. This method he applies with acuteness and grace, often revealing unsuspected qualities of the works; and he writes about Leonardo as an artist with an admiration that is not less moving for being modestly expressed.

MEYER SCHAPIRO

Professor Schapiro, of Columbia University, has just published a critical book on Cezanne.

FUROR TEUTONICUS

HITLER: *A Study In Tyranny*, by Alan Bullock (Harper; $6).

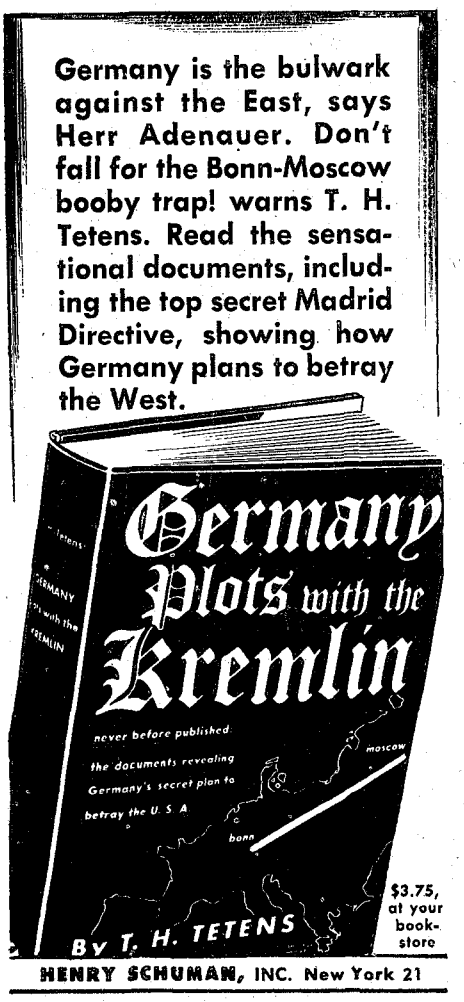
HOW CAN ONE KNOW the unknowable, believe the unbelievable, and plumb depths which are unfathomable? How can men understand Man at his worst in order to serve Man at his best? The challenge of 20th Century totalitarianism to the Free World is from first to last a challenge to comprehension. Counter-action inspired only by fear or hate is foredoomed to hideous failure. Such failure is still failure when followed by "victory"—if the price of victory is the wrecking of the world. And such failure lacks the dignity of tragedy when it stems from stupidity and folly, reflecting blank unawareness of the sources and nature of the danger to be faced.

Despite mountains of books, Communism and Fascism alike remain largely incomprehensible to free men. Western responses to both have been touched with madness. For the heirs of the Age of Reason seem unable to grasp the re-emergence of unreason out of the illness of a disordered civilization. And they seem unwilling to use to any good purpose the lamps for illumining darkness offered by Marx and Freud and Pareto and Spengler and Toynbee. The quintessence of the dilemma is the career of Adolf Hitler, who is still inexplicable after millions of words of "explanation."

The man, writes Alan Bullock, brilliant young Oxford historian, was a charlatan and a genius and partly a madman, but not a fool. "He combined a technical virtuosity with the coarseness and ignorance of a moral illiterate. . . . The most lasting impression is of the vulgarity of his mind, as commonplace as it was brutal, as unabashed as it was ignorant." His remarkable powers were "combined with an ugly and strident egotism, a moral and intellectual cretinism. The passions which ruled Hitler's mind were ignoble: hatred, resentment, the lust to dominate, and, where he could not, . . . to destroy."

Bullock's book is neither an explanation nor an interpretation of the monstrous phenomenon with which it deals. It is something more useful in our present state of ignorance of the demonism afflicting sick souls and sick societies. It is a detailed and documented personal and political biography—the first worthy of the name. On family background and the frustrations of youth, it is less dramatic, but more accurate, than Konrad Heiden's *Der Fuehrer*. On the suicide amid *Goetterdaemmerung*, it is briefer than Trevor-Roper's account. But here in almost 800 pages, with footnotes, a good bibliography, maps, pictures, and a useful index, is the whole incredible story in rich detail, with the facts ably arrayed, readably presented, and shrewdly judged. This volume must be carefully read and thoughtfully pondered by all who would hope, somehow and ultimately, to understand Hitler and Hitlerism—which Bullock sees as not merely a German disease but a disease of Europe and of all our world.

No brief critique can do justice to so thorough and fascinating a work. But the verdict may be ventured that the book is rather stronger in its analyses of politics, diplomacy, and strategy than in its treatment of the psychology, sociology, and economics of Nazism. Well told is the tale of how the tawdry demagogue became charismatic despot and then world-conqueror by using for his purposes the leaders of conservatism at home and abroad who supposed they were using him as their protector against radicalism or as a weapon against rival powers. Junker generals welcomed the devil, then opposed him, were repeatedly outwitted by him, and sought over and again, always in vain, to kill him. Bullock minimizes Tory connivance in Nazi aggression in the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1930's, but scarcely alters the interpretation of Munich once set forth, before the event, in the *New Republic* of April 28, 1938: "The Perfidy of Albion."

It is well to be reminded, with full documentation, that Hitler wanted to wage war on Czechoslovakia in 1938 and was thwarted (though Bullock does not put it so) by Chamberlain and Daladier who betrayed Prague lest the Western Powers be obliged to accept Russia as an ally and lose all hope of a Nazi attack on the USSR. Stalin's equally disastrous use of this calculus in reverse is here dissected. It is well to have the full story of deception and treachery among Berlin, Rome and Tokyo. And it is well to recall that Hitler's decision to destroy Poland was reached in May, not in August, of 1939, and his decision to destroy Russia in August, and not in December, of 1940. Bullock has mastered his sources. He comes as close as any conscientious historian can ever come to the whole truth about all aspects of Hitler's life and times.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

The
SOVIET IMPACT
on SOCIETY
by Dagobert D. Runes
Preface by Harry Elmer Barnes

In what manner has Kremlin-controlled Sovietism raised or lowered human standards? Is man in Soviet society master of his own fate? May he follow unhampered his self-chosen vocation and avocation? Can he express his ideas and feelings as he wishes? Can he join his neighbors in groups, unions and confederations? Are his social or cultural activities dictated by political potentates?

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THE SECOND SEX, by Simone de Beauvoir, translated and edited by H. M. Parshley (Knopf; $10).

WOMEN ARE MADE NOT BORN. Mlle. de Beauvoir has set out what history—*man*-made history—has made of women, what woman's situation is today, and what she may make of it tomorrow. What history—or Man—has made of her is the Other; she is the inessential in and through which he proclaims his superior importance, the seeming self which he can transform, in sexual aggression, to a mere object. What she is today expresses—in love, in marriage, in maternity, even in old age—this sacrificial history. But all will be different when woman has become first economically and at last psychically independent.

Mlle. de Beauvoir's argument looks, at first sight, a paradigm for the application of philosophical principles to a wider than philosophic theme: the Self-Other, subject-object duality in which, in existential loyalty, she clothes her exposition, does lend itself readily to the topic of sexuality. Yet as philosophy, as sociology, as humanity, there is something all wrong with it. Let me consider the first and most inclusive objection. An existential exposition of a social and historical theme operates in terms of "situation": thus woman is not an eternal verity, but what our place, physical, geographical, cultural, has made of each of us. But for Mlle. de Beauvoir, to recognize situation is to reduce it to *mere* situation, and so to eliminate it.

This is true, in the first instance, of her account of the physiological situation. Body, she says, "in the perspective I am adopting—that of Heidegger, Sartre, and Merleau-Ponty . . . is the instrument of our grasp upon the world, a limiting factor for our projects." But, she goes on, with respect to women and their "weakness" this is only a factor when we see it in the total situation—and that means, see what men have made of it—and discount it. Yet her own words—pages and pages of them—belie this: her account of feminine sexuality is detailed, and so far as I can judge adequate. (She has in this, I am glad to acknowledge, filled a woeful gap in existential literature, for the account of sexuality by Sartre in *L'Etre et le Néant* leaves woman, except as machinist, out of account altogether.) But surely the feminine sexuality she describes is not *all* man-made. That man is the aggressor is not purely a social accident but an evolutionary one—woman wants to be possessed (and she does) not only because her male-indoctrinated forebears told her to, but because, in the nature of the animal, it is only in surrender that she becomes herself. The "voluntary gift" which Beauvoir ascribes to her free woman of the future is still giving, not taking; and the reciprocal dependence of man and woman which she correctly describes may be as much as you like a dependence of economic, social and moral equals: it is not physiologically and therefore cannot be humanly a dependence of equals. It is possible, I am told, for a woman to seduce a man; it is not possible for her to rape him. The possibility of rape—and its institutionalized equivalent in "marital rights"—is beastly; but it is a female *Grenzsituation*, coeval with the human species, which can be fled from in frigidity or transcended in "voluntary giving" but not talked away. We are all in bond to absurdity yet free to give it meaning; woman has an extra bond, an additional dimension of absurdity, but also perhaps an instrument of transcendence which her partner lacks—for it may be not only delusively but really easier to find in surrender than in possession the self-completion we all seek.

There is more to woman's physiological situation, moreover, than the organization of her sexual impulses. Beauvoir denies that there exists a maternal instinct, and I do not want to quarrel with words. That there is, in men and women, and perhaps especially in women, a very deep desire to reproduce their kind; that this is not purely the product of social conditioning, and that the "desire of all living things for immortality" influences humanity to its farthest and least biological recesses, is I think hard to deny. I know, as so many American women do, the now stock conflicts between profession and family, "career" and "home,"—and I

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know that they are not to be resolved by elevating us in the cheap commercial lingo of women's radio programs from "housekeepers" to "homemakers."

Yet the problem of the family, and woman in the family, and woman's need to bear children is much more deeply rooted and much less lightly resolved than Beauvoir—or existentialism in general—admits. Marriage *is* an irrational and barbarous institution; the taboo on illegitimacy is barbarous—all too true. But the truth is that all institutions are barbarous and yet we cannot do without them. Man (or woman) is born free and everywhere (s)he is in chains. And I don't like the look of the chains Beauvoir would forge for me as well as those I have.

That brings me to the wider "situation,"—in which again I find Beauvoir's use of this concept contradictory and misleading. "Situation" is a philosophic concept for conservatives; the French existentialists use it as revolutionaries. They say; man, or woman, is not eternal, but what facticity has made of her here and now. In the Beauvoir argument (as in Sartre's political arguments) that means: whatever you have thought significant and eternal is merely temporary and meaningless: throw it out! Yet to see that existence is "in situation" is to see that it is rooted and must be rooted: that freedom consists in understanding and assenting to the here and now, and in seeking its amelioration where it needs ameliorating in the light of standards which themselves claim eternity precisely *because* they are believed in here and now: because they have themselves grown with and into us as we have grown with and into them. Thus to exhibit the social and historical roots of "woman as the Other" may confirm as much as undermine this role. Our belief in liberty, too, is historically conditioned; that does not lead us to abandon it—for no beliefs are eternal; not even the belief in "situation" which Beauvoir in effect herself abandons in the service of an abstract egalitarianism.

Although I have had no opportunity to compare the translation with the original, I have the impression that it is excellent.

MARJORIE GRENE

Miss Grene, critic of Modern French philosophy, is now living in Ireland.

A COMPOSER'S WORLD

NOTES WITHOUT MUSIC, by Darius Milhaud (Knopf; $5).

ANYONE who knows Darius Milhaud's music would expect his autobiography to be charming; in this beautiful new translation, it is rather more than that. Deliberately paced and outrageously disorganized, it is a self-portrait which is flattering and, I suspect, at the same time completely true. It is also a valuable documentation of the most turbulent era in the history of the arts in France—an era which Milhaud helped shape—when Surrealism, Dadaism, and Heaven knows what other esthetic views were coming into being and the exponents of rival schools were belaboring each other in the streets, galleries and concert halls of Paris.

Milhaud seems to have had a charmed life. He was born with every material advantage into a rich heritage of French, Provençal and Jewish culture, and at a most propitious date for building a great career. His excellent training began very early and, of course, his extraordinary imagination was more than adequate for any situation in which he found himself. Claudel, Cocteau, Satie, and a vast number of other intellectual and artistic leaders became, and remained, his intimate friends. When he escaped from the Nazis and came to the United States, he was immediately given an excellent teaching position at Mills College, and after the war, he returned to France with great honor. Although Milhaud has been a desperately sick man for many years, one feels that they have been pleasant years anyway. It is a delight to read the account of such a prolonged good time.

The one weakness of this autobiography is that it is excessively tactful. Any man of good will who publishes such a book during his lifetime will tend to be a little too kind, and, consequently, not quite candid. Milhaud is best when discussing the dead, which is probably as it should be, but makes the first part of his book more rewarding than the last. *Notes Without Music* reads like the first draft of an excellent autobiography, the final version of which we shall probably never see.

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